

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INRE-00

ERDE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6064

S E C R E T MOSCOW 15404

EXDIS

E.O. 11652 XGDS-3

TAGS: PARM, US, UR

SUBJECT: TTBT/PNE NEGOTIATIONS: STATUS SUMMARY AND COMMENTS

TTBT/PNE DELEGATION MESSAGE NO. 72

1. ROUND IV HAS BEEN IN SESSION SEVEN WEEKS.
2. WORK TOWARD BRACKETED JOINT DRAFT TREATY IS NOW PROCEEDING.
3. WORK TOWARD BRACKETED JOINT DRAFT PROTOCOL LANGUAGE ON INFORMATION EXCHANGE IS NOW PROCEEDING, PAINFULLY BUT POSITIVELY.
4. WORK TOWARD BRACKETED JOINT DRAFT PROTOCOL LANGUAGE ON OBSERVERS ON ON-SITE FUNCTIONS AND EQUIPMENT, INCLUDING EQUIPMENT AND PROCEDURES FOR VERIFICATION OF GROUPS, IS PLAGUED BY FALSE STARTS CASUED BY SOVIET DELAY, EVASION AND RENEGING. SOVIET SIDE PERSISTS IN RETURNING TO POSITIONS THAT ALL FEATURES OF ACCESS BY OBSERVERS MUST BE DETERMINED BY HOST PARTY AND THAT ALL INSTRUMENTS AND EQUIPMENT MUST BE THOSE OF HOST PARTY.
5. PACE AND AREAS OF PROGRESS MAINLY DOMINATED BY:
  - (A) SOVIET SIDE NOT COMING TO GRIPS WITH SPECIFICS ON CERTAIN SUBJECTS (MAINLY THOSE NOTED IN PARA 4) -- WHICH WE ASSUME REFLECTS, AT LEAST IN PART, SOVIET INTERNAL PROBLEMS;

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(B) VERY VISIBLE DESIRE OF SOVIT SIDE TO EVADE COMPLETE SET OF EXPLICIT PROVISIONS AND DEAL IN GENERAL "PRINCIPLES" AND "WE'LL-WORK-SOMETHING-OUT-AS-WE-GO-ALONG" FORUMULATINS;

(C) CLEAR SIGNS THAT SOVIT SIDE, IN GENERAL, DOES NOT WORK VERY HARD, AND LOOKS TO US SIDE TO PROVIDE PRECISE FORMULATIONS WHICH SOVIETS CAN THEN AMEND TO FIT THEIR AMBIGUOUS APPROACH.

6. THERE IS NOT REASON EVIDENT TO DELEGATION FOR CONSIDERING ANY DEPARTURE FROM US POSITION ON MAJOR POINTS OR SIGNIFICANT DETAILS. SOVIETS HAVE ABSORBED SOME RATHER HARD STATEMENTS RECENTLY AND SEEM TO UNDERSTAND, AND INCREASINGLY TO ACCEPT, IDEA THAT US SIDE WILL NOT SETTLE FOR OUTCOME THAT DOES NOT INCLUDE PROVISIONS, INCLUDING ALL NECESSARY DETAILS, IT SAYS ARE ESSENTIAL.

7. IN PAST COUPLE OF WEEKS SOVIET SIDE HAS CYCLED INCONCLUSIVELY THROUGH SEVERAL RATHER PECULIAR POSTURES RELATED TO SUBJECT OF OBSERVERS. IT IS IMPRESSION OF DELEGATION THAT SOVIETS ARE TRYING, WITHOUT MUCH SUCCESS THUS FAR, TO FIND WAY OUT OF UNCOMFORTABLE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN USSR INTERNAL NEED TO LIMIT OBSERVER ACCESS AND OBJECTIVE REQUIREMENTS FOR WHAT USSR REGARDS AS INTRUSIVE OBSERVER FUNCTIONS, WHILE -- AT SAME TIME -- BEING UNABLE TO FIND VALID SUBSTANTIVE GROUNDS FOR SETTING ASIDE THOSE OBSERVER REQUIREMENTS. HOW MUCH TIME SOVIET SIDE MAY DEVOTE TO THIS SEARCH IS NOT PARACTICALLY PREDICTABLE. SINCE CHOICES INVOLVED FOR USSR ARE SO PAINFULLY DIFFICULT SOVIET INCLINATION IS TO TRY TO AVOID THEM HEAD ON. THUS SEARCH COULD GO ON FOR A LONG WHILE.

8. WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT CONTINUING SOVIET DILATORY BEHAVIOR. AS TIME GOES ON US HAS PRACTICAL PROBLEM OF BALANCING NEED TO KEEP PRSSURE ON SOVIET SIDE AGAINST NEED TO AVOID GIVING THEM REASON TO BELIEVE THAT TIME IS NOT FACTOR. PURSUIT BY DELEGATION OF AD REFERENDUM JOINT DRAFT TEXT KEEPS SOME PRESSURE ON SOVIET SIDE DURING SHORT TERM. HOWEVER, THIS IS WASTING ASSET WHICH DIMINISHES RAPIDLY AS PROPORTION OF AD REFERENDUM JOINT DRAFT TEXT GROWS. ALSO, PINCH WILL ARISE AT SOME FUTURE POINT RELATED TO APPROACH OF MARCH 31, 1976.

9. WORKABLE AD REFERENDUM DRAFT TEXTS FOR TREATY AND US PRTOCOL I  
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CAN REASONABLY BE EXPECTED TO REACH PRACTICAL LIMIT OF AGREEMENT IN ONE WEEK.

10. POSSIBLE DEGREE OF DEVELOPMENT OF TEXT FOR US PROTOCOL II DEPENDS ALMOST ENTIRELY ON WILLINGNESS OF SOVIET SIDE TO DEAL WITH IT. IF THEY WILL ACTUALLY ENGAGE IN WORKING SESSINS ON TEXT, IT PROBABLY CAN ALSO BE BROUGHT TO PRACTICAL LIMIT OF AGREEMENT IN ONE WEEK BECAUSE NO SERIOUS SUBSTANTIVIE DFFERENCES ARE APPARENT

OVER TECHNICAL ISSUES. ON OTHER HAND, SERIOUS DIFFICULTY SOVIETS  
HAVE WITH ACCEPTING US SLIFER EQUIPMENT AND RELATED OBSERVER  
PROCEDURES AND THEIR ATTEMPTS TO SEEK SOME RESOLUTION OF THIS  
MATTER MAY KEEP THEM FROM COMING TO GRIPS WITH TECHNICAL CONTENT  
OF PROTOCOL II TEXT. IN SUCH CASE, US SHOULD STAND ON PROTOCOL  
II TEXT, AND CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE OF PROHIBITING GROUPS, OR  
DEFERRING THEM UNTIL A SOLUTION OF EQUIPMENT PROBLEM.  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, PROGRESS REPORTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 OCT 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ShawDG  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975MOSCOW15404  
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**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X3  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ShawDG  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 12 JUN 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <12 JUN 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <30 OCT 2003 by ShawDG>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** TTBT/PNE NEGOTIATIONS: STATUS SUMMARY AND COMMENTS TTBT/PNE DELEGATION MESSAGE NO. 72  
**TAGS:** PARM, US, UR  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006